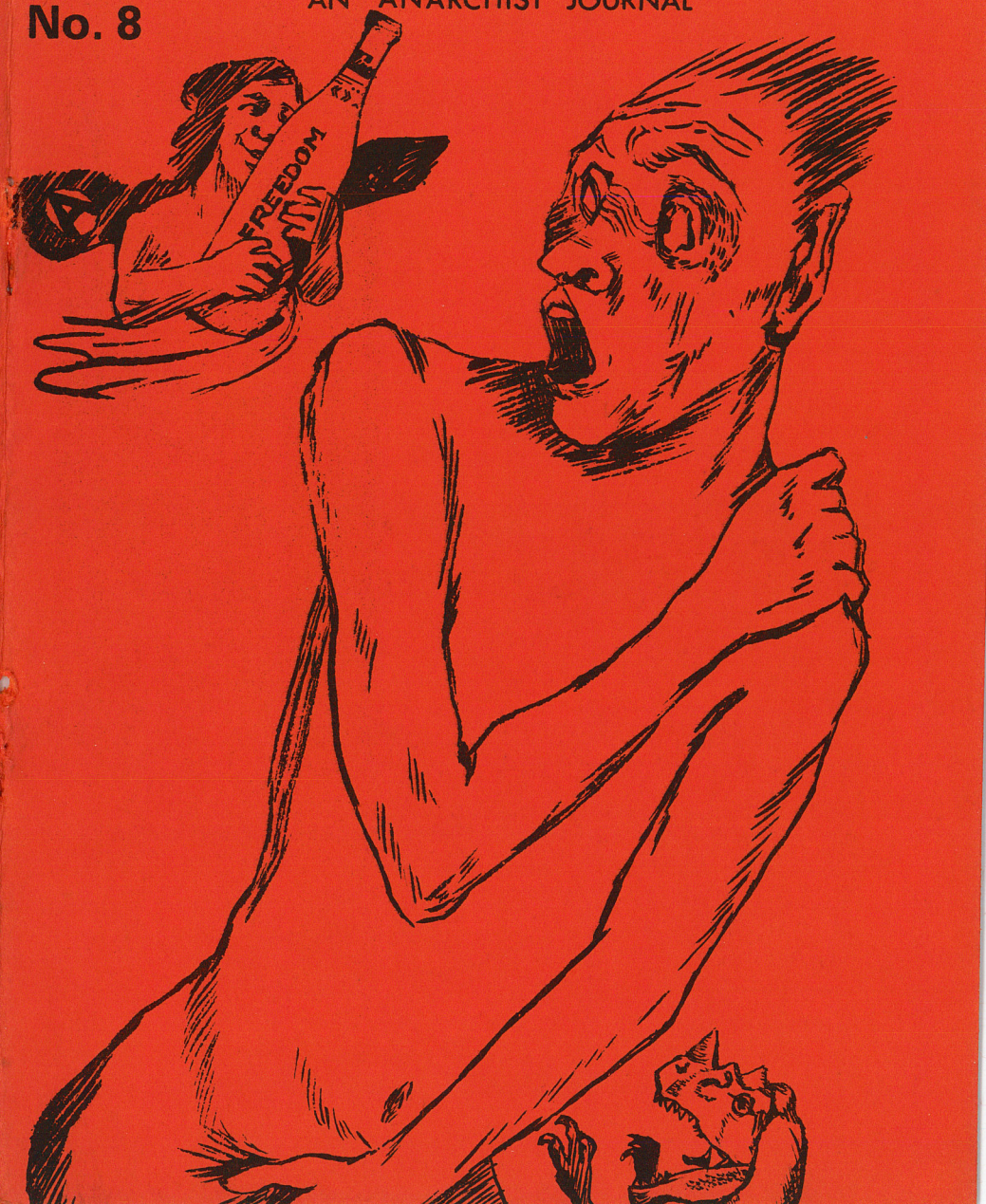
RED & BLACK

AN ANARCHIST JOURNAL

No. 8



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ALEXANDER BERKMAN

Paul Avrich

Alexander Berkman, the anarchist writer and militant, was born of well-to-do Jewish parents in Vilna on November 21, 1870. Deeply moved by the martyrdom of five Populists hanged in 1881 for the assassination of Alexander II, he dedicated his life to the revolutionary cause. A special source of inspiration was his maternal uncle, Mark Natanson, a founder of the Chaikovsky Circle and of the Land and Freedom Society, whose organizational abilities, clear-headedness and spirit of self-sacrifice he inherited in ample measure.

In 1888, following the death of his father and mother, Berkman left for America to begin a new life. On November 11, 1887, just three months before his departure, four Chicago anarchists had died on the gallows after being convicted of the Hay-market bombing of the previous year, and when Berkman arrived in New York the case was still being passionately discussed. Berkman, for whom the memory of the martyred Russian Populists remained unfaded, was profoundly affected by the hangings. He immediately flung himself into anarchist agitation, joining a Jewish group called the Pioneers of Liberty and the German Freiheit group led by Johann Most, the dominant figure in the immigrant wing of the American anarchist movement.

In 1892, when Berkman was operating a lunchroom in Massachusetts with Emma Goldman and another young anarchist, news broke of the shooting of strikers at the Carnegie steel mills in Momestead, Pennsylvania. Berkman, emulating his Populist heroes, acquired a pistol and set out to assassinate Henry Clay Frick, manager of the Carnegie works, whose removal, Berkman thought, would rouse the American workers against the injustices of American capitalism. For wounding Frick on July 23, 1892, Berkman was locked up for fourteen years (he went in at 21 and came out at 35) in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, an experience hauntingly described in his Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist (1912), one of the most celebrated classics of anarchist literature.

Berkman was released from Prison on May 18, 1906. With the death of Johann Most two months before, he and Emma Goldman became the leading figures in the American anarchist movement. Addressing meetings, organizing demonstrations, editing periodicals and agitating among the workers and unemployed, Berkman did more than any of his associates, apart from Emma Goldman herself, to further the libertarian cause. Under his editorship, Mother Earth (1906-1918) became the foremost anarchist journal in the United States and one of the best produced anywhere in the world. In 1910 and 1911 he helped organize the Ferrer Modern School in New York and served as one of its first teachers. During the next few years, moreover, he presided over demonstrations for the unemployed and agitated for such causes as the Lawrence textile strike of 1912 and the Ludlow massacre of 1914. With the outbreak of the First World War, he organized antimilitarist rallies in New York and made extended lecture tours through the country trying to arouse public opinion against the growing war hysteria. Towards the end of 1915 he went to California to campaign for the release of David Caplan and Mathew Schmidt, who had been jailed for their complicity in the Los Angeles Times Building five years before. And in January 1916 he launched in San Francisco his own revolutionary paper, The Blast, which, during its eighteen-month existence, became second only to Mother Earth as the most influential anarchist journal in America.

Alexander Berkman
(1870-1936)

When a bomb was exploded during the San Francisco Preparedness Parade on July 22, 1916, the police tried to implicate Berkman, who was innocent of any connection with the affair. Their efforts, however, were unsuccessful and the blame was pinned on two labor militants, Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, who were convicted on the basis of perjured testimony and fabricated evidence. Berkman was one of the first to come to their aid, raising funds, securing attorneys and setting in motion a nationwide campaign in their defense. At Berkman's instigation, anarchists even demonstrated outside the American embassy in Petrograd in the midst of the Russian Revolution, forcing President Wilson to intervene and secure a commutation of Mooney's death sentence.

In 1917, on America's entry into the war, Berkman returned to New York to agitate against conscription. He was soon arrested, tried and sentenced to two years in Atlanta Federal Prison, seven months of which he spent in solitary confinement. In December 1919, he and Emma Goldman were deported to Russia. Berkman, now nearly fifty, plunged into renewed revolutionary activity, cooperating with the Bolsheviks in cultural if not political affairs. For several months, he and Emma Goldman travelled through the country collecting material for the Museum of the Revolution in Petrograd. It was not long, however, before the methods of the Soviet government dampened his enthusiasm. He was stunned by the wholesale arrests of Russian anarchists, the dispersal of Makhno's guerilla army, and the conversion of the local Soviets into rubber stamps for a new bureaucracy. The final blow came with the crushing of the Kronstadt rising in March 1921, which, to Berkman, "symbolized the beginning of a new tyranny".

At the end of 1921, his illusions shattered, Berkman emigrated to the West. After a brief stay in Stockholm, he went to Berlin, where he published several pamphlets on Bolshevik Russia and the Kronstadt rebellion, then on to France, where he was to live out the rest of his life. He threw himself into relief work on behalf of his comrades, organizing a fund for aging European anarchists and becoming secretary and treasurer of a committee to aid anarchist prisoners in Russia, as well as editor of its bulletin. In addition, he helped gather material on political persecution under the Bolshevik regime Letters from Russian Prisons, published in 1925 — and the same year brought out his own Russian diary, The Bolshevik Myth, one of the earliest and most penetrating accounts of emerging Soviet totalitarianism. In 1929 he published Now and After, which ranks with Peter Kropotkin's Conquest of Bread as the clearest exposition of communist anarchism in any language.

When Now and After appeared, Berkman had only seven years to live. Under constant threat of expulsion by the French government, he earned a precarious living by translating, editing, and occasional ghost-writing for American and European publishers, which had to be supplemented by gifts from his comrades and friends. In early 1936 he underwent two operations for a prostate condition, which left him in chronic pain. Finally, on June 28, 1936, suffering from his illness and unwilling to exist through the generosity of others, he shot himself to death in Nice. He died just three weeks before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, which, as Emma Goldman remarked, might have revived his spirits and given him a new lease on life.

Bibliography: Berkman wrote three important books: Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist (New York, 1912), The Bolshevik Myth (New York, 1925), and Now and After (new York, 1929). See also Emma Goldman, Living My Life (New York, 1931); Richard Drinnon, Rebel in Paradise (Chicago, 1961); and Paul Avrich, The Russian Anarchists (Princeton, 1967).

MARX & ANARCHISM

Rudolf Rocker

A few years after Frederic Engels' death, Edward Bernstein, one of the most brilliant members of the Marxist Community, surprized his friends by some important discoveries. He publicly stated his doubts as to the correctness of the material interpretation of history of Marxist theory of plus value and capital concentration; he even attacked the very dialectical method, coming to the conclusion that it was impossible to talk of a socialist critique. A man of discretion, he kept his discoveries to himself until the death of old Engels, and only then, to the great dismay of the Marxist priests, did he make them public. But even this discretion could not save him. He was attacked by all sides. Kautsky wrote a book against the heretic and poor Edward was forced, at the congress of Hanover, to declare that he had committed a mortal sin and that he would accept the decision of the scientific majority.

With all this Bernstein revealed nothing new. The reasons he put foreward for opposing the basic principles of the Marxist doctrine had already existed while he continued to be a faithful apostle of the Marxist church. These arguments had been appearing here and there in anarchist literature but the important fact was that one of the best known social democrats referred to them for the first time. It is indeniable that Bernstein's criticism left a deep impression on the Marxist camp and shook the most important foundation of Karl Marx's metaphysical economy. Not surprisingly, the respectable representatives of orthodox Marxism were deeply upset.

All this would not have been so grave if there was not another drawback. For a century Marxists have preached that Marx and Engels were the inventors of scientific socialism; thus an artificial distinction has been created between the so-called utopian and the Marxist - scientific socialism, a distinction which is a figment of their imagination. The socialist literature in the Germanic countries has been monopolized by Marxist theories and all social democrats have considered Marx' and Engels' scientific discoveries as pure and highly original products. This dream has vanished. Modern historical research has established beyond all doubt that scientific socialism is nothing but a disguised form of the old English and French socialisms.

After the 1848 revolution a frightful reaction began. With the intention of suffocating socialist thought and its flourishing literature, the Holy Alliance spread its nets in all countries: in France as well as in Belgium, England, Germany, Spain and Italy. The period of obscurantism which followed 1848 sank this literature into oblivion. Many of the most important writings were destroyed and only a few specimens found refuge in the tranquility of big public and private libraries. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century some of this literature was discovered. Today we admire the prolific ideas found in the old writings: in the works of Considerant, Demasi, Ney and many others to Fourier and Saint-Symon's schools. Also here. is the origin of the so-called scientific socialism.

Our old friend W. Tcherkesoff first offered a comprehensive view of these facts. He pointed out that Marx and Engels were not inventors of the theories which for so many years have been considered their intellectual patrimony (1). Also, he proved that some of the Marxists' most famous works, such as the **Communist Manifesto**, were in reality nothing more than free translations by Marx and Engels from the French. Besides, Tcherkesoff had the pleasure of seeing his views related to the **Communist Manifesto**, confirmed by **Avanti**, the official organ of the Italian Social Democracy (2), after the writer of that article had the idea of comparing the

Communist Manifesto with the **Manifesto of the Democracy** by Victor Considerant, which had appeared 5 years before Marx and Engels' pamphlet.

The **Communist Manifesto** is considered as one of the first works on scientific socialism but its contents are moulded upon the writings of a "utopist" since Marxism places Fourier among the utopian socialists. Here is one of the cruelist ironies imaginable which, surely, does not constitute a favourable recommendation of the scientific value of Marxism.

Victor Considerant was among the first socialists writers whom Marx knew. Marx mentions him during the time when Marx himself was not yet a socialist. In 1842 the **Allgemeine Zeitung** attacked the **Rheinische Zeitung** whose editor in chief was Marx, and accused him of having communist sympathies. In his editorial (3) answer Marx declared: "writings such as those of Leroux, Considerant and more particularly Proudhon's perspicuous book cannot be taken lightly. They have to be studied profoundly before a critique of them is made.....".

The French Socialism had exerted great influence upon Marx' development but of all socialist writers P. J. Proudhon's influence was the most pronounced. It is evident that Proudhon's book What is Property prompted Marx to embrace socialism. Proudhon's critical observation on the national economy and the various socialist tendencies uncovered a new world for Marx. Mainly, it was the theory of the plus-value developed by French socialist thinkers, which greatly impressed Marx' spirit. We find in Proudhon's writings the origin of the plus-value doctrine, this grandiose "scientific" discovery, in which all Marxists take pride. Thanks to him, Marx came to know the theory which he would modify later, after studying the English socialists Bray and Thompson.

Marx publicly acknowledged the great scientific importance of Proudhon. In a book which is unavailable (4) he qualified **What is Property** as "the first scientific manifestation of the French proletariat". This book has never been edited or translated by Marxists despite the great efforts of the official representatives of Marxism to divulge the writings of their master in all languages. This book has been forgotten because its reprinting will reveal to all the immense misinterpretation and insignificance of all that Marx has written later on the subject of the eminent anarchist theoretician.

Not only was Marx influenced by Proudhon's economic ideas but also by the anarchist theories of this great French socialist. In one of his books, at the time, Marx fights against the state in the same way as Proudhon.

II

All those who have carefully studied Marx' socialist evolution have to acknowledge that Proudhon's work **What is Property** converted him to socialism. Those who do not know accurately the details of this evolution, those who lack the curiosity to read the first socialist writings of Marx and Engels, will judge as strange and improbable the above affirmations because in his later works Marx refers to Proudhon ironically and contemptuously and it is precisely these writings which the social democracy continue to republish and reprint.

In this way, little by little, an opinion emerged according to which Marx was from the beginning a theoretical opponent of Proudhon and that between them there was no point of contact. It is impossible to have another opinion if one reads Marx' references to Proudhon in **The Poverty of Philosophy**; in the **Communist Manifesto** and in the obituary which Marx published soon after Proudhon's death in the **Social Democrat** of Berlin.

In **The Poverty of Philosophy** he attacks Proudhon in the worst possible manner. By all means, he tries to prove that Proudhon's ideas have no value, that they have importance neither to socialism nor to a critique of the policital economy: "Mr.

Proudhon" he says "has the misfortune to be understood in a strange manner: in France he has the right to be a bad economist because he is considered as a good German philosopher; in Germany he can be a bad philosopher because he is considered as the best French economist. In my qualities as a German and as an economist I am forced to protest against this doublemistake."

Marx goes even further. He accuses Proudhon, without proving the case, of having plagiarized the ideas of the English economist Bray. He writes "We believe to have found the key to all past, present and future works of Mister Proudhon in Bray's books (6)."

It is interesting to note that Marx, who has utilized the ideas of others and whose Manifesto is in fact a copy of Victor Considerant's Manifesto of Democracy, accuses others of plagiarism.

To continue. In the Manifesto Marx describes Proudhon as a bourgeois and a conservative representative (7). In the obituary published in the Sozialdemocrat 1865 we read the following words: "in a rigorous scientific history of political economy, this book (he refers to What is Property) barely deserves to be mentioned. In science these kinds of works play exactly the same role as the literature of novels."

In the same obituary Marx reiterates his assertions that Proudhon, as an economist, has no value, an opinion which he had already expressed in the Poverty of Philosophy.

It is easy to understand why similar assertions by Marx against Proudhon spread the belief or, more precisely, the conviction that there was no relationship between him and the great French writer. In Germany Proudhon is almost unknown. The German editions of his works, made around 1840, were soon out of print. Only What is Property was republished in German but its circulation was limited to restricted circles. This explains how Marx succeeded in effacing the traces of the initial period of his socialist evolution. That, at the beginning, his opinion was different we will have the occasion to see later. What follows will corroborate our assertions.

As the editor in chief of Rheinische Zeitung, one of the main newspapers of the German Democracy, Marx, even if not a socialist, became acquainted with the most important French socialist writers. We have already mentioned his allusion to Victor Considerant, and especially Proudhon, introducing him to socialism. By all evidence What is Property exercised the greatest influence upon Marx' political maturing. Therefore, at the time, Marx referred to the brilliant Proudhon as "the most consistent and shrewdest of the socialist writers (8)."

In 1848 the Prussian censure suppressed the Rheinische Zeitung, Marx left for abroad. During this period he pursued his evolution towards socialism. This evolution is well documented in his letters to the writer Arnold Ruge, and more so, in his work the Holy Family or A Critique of Critical Critique which he published with Frederic Engels. The book, which appeared in 1845, challenges the new tendency of the thinker Bruno Bauer. Besides philosophical questions the book deals with political economy and socialism, the two aspects which interest us.

Of all the works published by Marx and Engels, only the Holy Family has not been translated into other languages nor did the German Socialists ever re-edit it. It is true that Franz Mehring, Marx and Engels' literary inheritor, under the auspices of the German Socialist Party re-published the Holy Family together with other writings related to the early socialistic period of the authors' activities. This was done 60 years after the appearance of the first edition and it was intended only for specialists, since it was extremely expensive for a worker. Besides all this, Proudhon is virtually unknown in Germany and only a few would have realized the profound difference between the earlier and the later opinions of Marx and Proudhon.

After all, this book demonstrates clearly the evolutionary process of Marx's

socialism and the influence Proudhon exerted on him.What Marxists attributed to their master later on, Marx in the **Holy Family** acknowledges to Proudhon.

> All treatises on political economy take **private property** for granted. This basic premise is for them an intestable fact to which they devote no further investigation, indeed a fact which is spoken about only "**accidentellement**", as Say naively admits. But Proudhon makes a critical investigation — the first resolute, ruthless, and at the same time scientific investigations — of the basis of political economy, and **private property**. This is the great scientific advance he made, an advance which revolutionises political economy and for the first time makes a real science of political economy possible. Proudhon's treatise **Qu'est-ce que la property**? is as important for modern political economy as Sieyes' work **Qu'est-ce le tiers etat**? for modern politics.

It is interesting to compare these words of Marx with those he wrote later in relation to the great anarchist theoritician. In the **Holy Family** he says that **What is Property** is the first scientific analysis of private property which has provided the posibility of making national economy a true science. In his obituary published in the Sozialdemocrat the same Marx assures us that in a rigorous scientific history of economy this work hardly deserves to be mentioned.

What causes such an obvious contradiction? A question which the representatives of the so called scientific-socialism have not yet clarified. In fact there is one answer. Marx wanted to hide his sources. All those who have studied this problem seriously, and who are not involved in partisan fanaticism, have to recognise that this explanation is not a capricious fact.

Furthermore, let us see what Marx has established as to the historical importance of Proudhon. On page 52 of the same book we read: "Not only does Proudhon write in favour of the proletariat but he himself is a proletarian, a worker. His work is a scientific manifestation of the French proletariat."

Here, as we can see it, Marx states in precise terms that Proudhon is a theoretician of proletarian socialism and that his work constitutes a scientific manifestation of the French proletariat. On the other hand, in the **Communist Manifesto** he affirms that Proudhon embodies petty bourgeois and conservative socialism. Can there be a greater contradiction? Whom should we believe, Marx of the **Holy Family** or the author of the **Manifesto**? Where does this difference come from? This is the question we are asking again, and of course, the answer is always the same: Marx wanted to conceal what he owed to Proudhon and to do this any means were good. There is no other explanation of this phenomenon. The methods Marx used later on in his struggle against Bakunin prove beyond doubt that he was not very refined in his choices. (12)

III

Marx' political writings at the time show also that he was influenced by Proudhon's anarchist ideas; an example is the article he published in Vorwaerts in Paris.

The **Vorwaerts** was a journal which had appeared in the French Capital around the years 1844 - 45 under the direction of Henry Bernstein. At the beginning it was of liberal tendency only. But later on, after the disappearance of the **Anaales franco-allemandes** Bernstein established relations with the old collaborators of the latter publication who won him to the socialist cause. Thus **Vorwaerts** became the official organ of socialism and many collaborators of the defunct Annold Ruge's publication such as Bakunin, Marx, Engels, Henry Heine, Georges Herwegh etc. participated..

In number 63 of this journal (7th August, 1844) Marx published a polemical

article Critical Notes in regard to the article: The King of Prussia and the Social Reform. In it he studied the nature of the state and demonstrates the absolute incapacity of those organisations to diminish social poverty and to suppress pauperism. The ideas developed by the author in this article are purely anarchistic and are in a perfect agreement with the concepts espoused by Proudhon, Bakunin and other theoreticians of anarchism on this subject. Let the readers judge for themselves the following extract from Marx' article:

> No government in the whole world has issued decrees about pauperism at a stroke and without consulting the authorities. The English Parliament even sent emissaries to all the countries in Europe in order to discover the different administrative remedies in use. But in their attempts to come to grips with pauperism every government has stuck fast at charitable and administrative measures or even regressed to a more primitive stage than that.
>
> Can the state do otherwise ?
>
> The state will never discover the source of social evils in the state and the organization of society, as the Prussian expects of the King. Wherever there are political parties each party will attribute every defect of society to the fact that its rival is at the helm of the state instead of itself. Even the radical and revolutionary politicians look for the causes of evil not in the nature of the state but in a specific form of the state which they would like to replace with another form of the state.
>
> From a political point of view the state and the organization of society are not two different things. The state is the organization of society. In so far as the state acknowledges the existence of social grievances it locates their origins either in the laws of nature over which no human agency has control, or in private life, which is independent of the state, or else in malfunctions of the administration which is dependent on it. Thus England finds poverty to be based on the law of nature according to which the population must always outgrow the available means of subsistence. From another point of view it explains pauperism as the consequence of the bad will of the poor, just as the King of Prussia explains it in terms of the un-Christian feelings of the rich and the Convention explains it in terms of the counter-revolutionary and suspect attitudes of the proprietors. Hence England punishes the poor, the King of Prussia exhorts the rich and the Convention beheads the proprietors.
>
> Lastly, all states seek the cause in fortuitous or intentional defects in the administration and hence the cure is sought in administrative measures. Why? Because the administration is the organizing agency of the state.
>
> The contradiction between the vocation and the good intentions of the administration on the one hand and the means and powers at its disposal on the other cannot be eliminated by the state, except by abolishing itself; for the state is based on this contradiction. It is based on the contradiction between public and private life, between universal and particular interests. For this reason, the state must confine itself to formal, negative activities, since the scope of its own power comes to an end at the very point where civil life and work begin. Indeed, when we consider the consequences arising from the asocial nature of civil life, of private property, of trade, of industry, of the mutual plundering that goes on between the various groups in civil life, it becomes clear that the law of nature governing the administration is impotence. For, the fragmentation, the depravity and the slavery of civil society is the natural foundation of the modern state, just as the civil society of slavery was the natural foundation of the state in antiquity. The existence of the state is inseparable from the existence of slavery. The state and slavery in antiquity-frank and open classical antitheses - were not more closely welded together than the modern state and the cut-throat world of modern business-sancrimonious Christian antithese.

This, essentially anarchist interpretation of the nature of the state, will appear

strange if it is compared with the later doctrine of Marx. It proves the anarchistic origin of Marx' socialist evolution. In the above article the criticism of the State reflects Proudhonian concepts expressed in the What is Property? This immortal work exerted a decisive influence upon the evolution of the German communist, despite all his efforts and, by all means, not the noblest ones, to negate the initial phase of his socialist evolution. Naturally the Marxists supported their master and, little by little, a historically false interpretation developed concerning the relationship between Marx and Proudhon.

In Germany where Proudhon is completely unknown the strangest rumours circulated about him. The more one knows of the old socialist literature the more certain one is of the debts the so-called scientific socialism owes to those "utopists", forgotten long ago due to the gigantic campaign against them by the Marxist school, as well as, other factors, which reduced the earlier socialist literature to insignificance. It was precisely Proudhon, the anarchist, the most slandered and misunderstood by legalitarian socialists, who was one of the most important teachers of Marx and who prepared the ground for Marx' evolutionary development.

IV

On 20th of July 1870, Karl Marx wrote to Frederic Engels:

> French need be thrashed. If the Prussians are victorious, the centralisation of the State power would be useful to the centralisation of the German working class. German preponderance, in addition, will shift the centre of gravitation of the European movement from France to Germany; and it is sufficient to compare the movement in the two countries from 1866 to the present to see that the German working class is superior to the French, as much from a theoretical as an organisational point of view. The preponderance in the world scene, of the German proletariat over the French proletariat will be at the same time the preponderance of our theory over the theory of Proudhon.

Marx was right. The triumph of Germany over France mapped out a new road in the history of the European working class movement.

Revolutionary and liberal socialism of the Latin countries was crushed leaving the field clear to the statist and the anti-anarchist theories of Marxism. The evolution of living and creative socialism was faced by a new iron dogmatism, which pretended to posses total knowledge of social reality while in fact it was but a collection of phraseologies and fatalist sophisms which resulted in the death of all true socialist thought.

These ideas changed the method of struggle of the socialist movement. Instead of revolutionary groups to assure the propaganda and the economic organisation of the struggle, in which the internationalists saw the seed of the future society and the organs suitable for the socialisation of the means of production and exchange, there began the era of socialist parties and parliamentary representation of the proletariat. Little by little, the old socialist education, which was to lead the workers to the conquest of the earth, and the factories, was replaced by the party discipline which considered the conquest of political power as its supreme ideal.

Michael Bakunin, the great opponent of Marx clairvoyantly assessed the changed situation. He predicted bitterly that with the triumph of Germany and the fall of the Commune of Paris had begun a new chapter in the history of Europe. Exhausted physically and near his death, he wrote on the 11th of November, 1874, these important words to Ogarev: "Bismarkism, - which becomes militarism, police regime and financial monopoly fused into a system referred to as the New State, - is going to triumph everywhere. Perhaps in ten or fifteen years the unforseen evolution of the human species will again illuminate the paths to victory." Bakunin was wrong on this occasion. He did not suspect that half a century and, also, a terrible world catastrophy would be necessary before Bismarkism was destroyed.

V

As the triumph of Germany in 1871 and the fall of the Paris Commune signified the disappearance of the old International, so, the great War of 1914 was the beginning of the bankruptcy of political socialism. Thus a singular, very grotesque event occured, which could be explained by a complete lack of knowledge of the history of the old socialist movement. Bolsheviks, independents, communists etc. had never missed an opportunity of accusing the old social democracy of a shameful betrayal of the Marxist principles. They accused the Social Democrats of having bogged the socialist movement in the marsh of the bourgeois parliamentarism, of having misinterpreted Marx' and Engels' attitude on the State etc.

The Bolsheviks' spiritual leader, Lenin, tried to base this accusation on a solid base in his famous work the State and Revolution, which, according to his disciples, is the true and pure interpretation of Marxism. In a collection of quotations Lenin pretends to demonstrate that the founders of the scientific socialism were avowed enemies of democracy and bourgeois parliamentarism and that all their aspirations were towards the disappearance of the state.

It should not be forgotten that Lenin made this discovery soon after the election for the Constituent Assembly when, contrary to all expectations his party found itself in the minority. Until then, the Bolsheviks, like all other political parties participated in the elections and were careful not to antagonize the principles of democracy. They took part in the last election for the Constituent Assembly in 1918, with a grandiose programme, hoping to obtain an impressive majority. Seeing themselves in the minority they declared war to democracy and provoked the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. It was then that Lenin published the State and Revolution as a personal justification.

VI

Surely, Lenin's task was not a simple one. On the one hand, he was forced to make concessions to the anarchists' anti-state tendencies and on the other, to show that his attitude was not anarchistic at all but exclusively Marxist. The inevitable consequence is that his work is full of errors and defies any sensible logic. An example will prove the case: Lenin, wanting to emphasize as much as possible a supposed anti-statist tendency in Marx, quotes the famous paragraph in the Civil War in France where Marx supports the Commune for having banished the parasitic state. Lenin does not even try to remember that these words, which were a blatant contradiction to Marx' previous attitude, made a concession to Bakunin's followers whom he fought bitterly at the time.

Even Frantz Mehring, who cannot be suspected of sympathizing with the majoritarian socialism, in his last book Karl Marx has to admit this contradiction: "despite the all authentic aspects of details in this book, it is beyond doubt that the thought expressed in it contradicts all opinions which Marx and Engels sustained since the Communist Manifesto a quarter of a century ago." Thus Bakunin was correct when he stated: "The effect of the Commune was so formidable that the Marxists, whose ideas suffered a set back, were forced to bow to it. They did something more: contrary to the most simple logic and to their true sentiments they proclaimed that the programme and the aims of the Commune were also theirs. To such an extent was the revolutionary spirit powerful that they had to do this to save themselves from being isolated and abandoned by all. (a letter to the Liberte, Brussels. 5th October, 1872).

VII

Lenin forgot something else which is of great importance to our subject. Marx and Engels tried to force the old International to adopt the old parliamentarian

action. Thus they were directly responsible for the socialist labour movement collectively bogging down in bourgeois parliamentarianism. The International was the first tentative to unite the organized workers of all countries into a big union, the final aspiration of which would be the economic liberation of the workers. The ideas and the methods of different sections differed, but the real importance was to establish points of contact for common work and to recognize the full autonomy and independence of the various sections. As long as this was done the International gained strength and flourished in all countries. From the moment Marx and Engels insisted in pushing the various sections to parliamentary action, everything changed. It happened at the London Conference in 1871, where they passed a resolution worded as follows:

> .....considering that against the collective power of the propertied class the proletariat cannot act as a class unless it forms a political party distinctly opposed to all old parties formed by the propertied classes; that a political party formed by the proletariat is indispensible to ensure the triumph of the Social Revolution and its supreme end: the abolition of the classes
>
> What the unity the labour forces have already achieved by economic struggle has to serve also as a lever in the struggle of this class against it exploiters.
>
> The conference reminds the members of the International that, in the state of militancy of the working class, its economic movement and its political action are indissolubly tied.
>
> Resolution 9 of the London Conference 17 - 23 September, 1871.

It was possible for a section or a federation of the International to adopt such a resolution because it would bind only its adherents but the Executive Council imposed it on all members of the International, especially matters which had not been put to the General Council, which constituted an arbitrary procedure in complete contradiction to the spirit of the International, engendering an energetic protest by all individual and revolutionary elements.

The disgraceful Congress of Haye in 1872 concluded the work undertaken by Marx and Engels to the point of transforming the International into an electoral mechanism. A clause was included forcing the various sections to struggle for the conquest of political power. Marx and Engels were, therefore, responsible for the division in the International, with all its fatal consequences for the working class movement. It was they who, by political action, provoked the degeneration and the bogging down of socialism.

VIII

When the Spanish Revolution broke out in 1873, the members of the International, mostly anarchists, rejected the demands of the bourgeois parties and proceeded towards the expropriation of the land and the means of production in a social revolutionary spirit. General strikes and revolts broke out in Alcoy, Sam Lucar de Barromeda, Cartagene and other places which were drowned in blood. The old port of Cartagene resisted longer. It remained in the hands of the revolutionaries for many months until it was suppressed by Prussian and English military ships. It was then that Engels in the **Wolkstaat** severely attacked and abused the Spanish Bakuninists for refusing to ally themselves with the Republicans. What criticism could Engels, if he was alive now, make of his Russian and German disciples?

After the celebrated Congress in 1891, when the leaders of the Youth were expelled from the Social Democratic Party for hurling accusations, similar to those Lenin hurled at the "opportunists" and the "kaytskytes" later on, they formed another party with its own organ: Der Socialist of Berlin. In its inception this movement was extremely dogmatic and exhibited ideas almost identical to those of the present day Communist Party. For example, if one reads Teisler' book Parliamentarism and

the Working Class one will encounter concepts identical to those expressed by Lenin in The State and Revolution. The independent socialists at that time, like the Russian Bolsheviks and the members of the German Communist Party, rejected the principles of democracy and refused to participate in the bourgeois Parliament on the grounds that this was reformism.

How did Engels react to those Youth who accused the leaders of the Social Democratic Party of treason towards Marxism? In a letter to Sorge, October 1891, the old Engels makes the following comments: "Instead of being accusers, the filthy Berlenese are accused. As poor types they are manipulated and to do something they are forced to work outside of the Party. Certainly, among them, there are police spies and disguised anarchists who like to work secretly among us. With them are a number of people, misled students and insolent clowns of all sorts. In all they are about two hundred persons."

It would be really interesting to know with what sympathetic adjectives Engels would honour our present day Communists who pretend to be guardians of Marxist principles.

It is impossible to characterise the methods of the old social democracy. On this point Lenin said nothing and neither did his German friends. The majoritarian socialists have to evoke this detail to prove that they are the true representatives of Marxism. Whoever knows a little bit of history will agree with them. Marxism is responsible for having oriented the working class towards parliamentary action and mapping out the evolutionary path to be followed by the German Social Democracy. Only when this is understood will it be seen that the road of social liberation goes beyond Marxism and leads to the happy land of anarchism.

NOTES.

1. W. Tcherkesoff, **Notes of Socialist History: The Percursors of the International.**
2. This article entitled **The Manifesto of Democracy**, was published in Avanti No 1901 in 1902.
3. **Rheinische Zeitung, No 289**, 16 October, 1842.
4. **The Holy Family**, written in 1843 and published in 1845.
5. Marx, **The Poverty of Philosophy** in the Tinroduction.
6. Bray, **Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy.**
7. Marx-Engels, **Das Kommunistische Manifest**, p. 21
8. **Rheinische Zeitung**, 7th January 1845.
9. Bruno Bauer was one of the most industrious participants in the Berlin Club "Les Libres". There met the best representative figures of German free thought (during the first half of the last century) such as Feurback, the author of **The Essence of Christianity**, a profound atheistic work, or Max Stirner, the author of **the Ego and its Own** . The authoritarian thoughts of Karl Marx had clashed with the free ideas of B. Bauer, whose work **The Critique of the Church and the State**, was ceased by the Dominicans and burnt (the first edition 1843). The second edition, Bern 1844 had better luck than the author, who was condemned and imprisoned for his ideas.
10. See note 4.
11. J. B. Say, a French economist. His complete works were translated into German by Max Stirner. Marx's phobia of French anarchist thought and German free-thought (a part of **German Ideology** was aimed at minimising Stirner and his **The Ego and Its Own** also turned against Say, the sociologist. Say was highly regarded among those who criticized the tryanny of the State and tried to escape from it.

12. The Break between Marx and Proudhon is based on a sordid fact. While in Paris 1845-46 Marx fought against Karl Grun's influence among the German migrants. All means were good. Marx wrote to Proudhon to warn him against this suspicious individual. At the same time he proposed to Proudhon to join him and to be his correspondent in France. Proudhon answered in a long letter on 17 May, 1845. He rejected the accusation against Grun. Also he stated that they should not be the leaders of a new religion, even the religion of logic or reason. On this condition I will join your socialism with pleasure, otherwise not."
One can imagine the effect this letter had on Marx. From that moment on Proudhon was condemned. He became "a parvenu in science who boasts of what he is not and of what he has not, a braggart and a sycophant of himself.

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COMUNICADO

Anunciamos que ha quedado constituida, en Paris, la COORDINADORA LIBERTARIA LATINO AMERICANA (CLLA):

Faustino LOZA (CLLA):
"Cercle Garcia Lorca"
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75005 - PARIS (France)

Rogamos a todos los companeros latinoamericanos, exiliados o residentes en sus paises de origen, que nos escriban a esta direccion para darnos sus puntos de vista sobre esta coordinacion y poder asi estudiar conjuntamente la manera mas eficaz de extender y consolidar las relaciones entre grupos e individuales, en Latino America y en el exilio.

La Comision.

The SM Herald report of the May Day Demonstration (May 2, 1892), (led into with sensationalist cable items from France on bomb 'outrages' and alleged threats), is headed 'Revolutionary Speeches.' Included is the text of a motion moved by Petrie as Organising Secretary of the GLU:

> "That this meeting affirms the resolution carried at the International Labour Congress at Paris in the year 1889, viz, that on the first day of May the workers should hold a demonstration to show the solidity (sic) of labour throughout the world."

The report then paraphrases what Petrie said in support of the motion:

> 'At that present moment there were over 2,000,000 workers in France celebrating that day and they were being assisted by the women. It was the universal love for principles of socialism they would assist in hurrying on revolution, which, although not apparently a bloody revolution, was such because the workers were bleeding through the hardships to which they had been subjected by the capitalists.'

Ernie Lane says that Petrie was of French ancestry on his father's side and accordingly had a supreme contempt for the stolid British worker whom he considered a slave. On one occasion when Wm Lane was in Sydney, he and Petrie argued about the virtues (the militancy) of British and French workers. Lane said, "Anyway, if you believe in revolution why don't you put it into practice.....go down George Street (Sydney's main street) and build a little barricade of your own?"

Petrie, according to Ernie Lane replied, "I will, I will. Within a year I will be in jail." (I don't know whether this is a comment on the efficacy as well as the need for direct action or not.)

Lane describes how he and Petrie used to multigraph, in the AWU office, leaflets and appeals to the workers, generally strikers, to take their courage in their hands and storm the capitalist stronghold. At night they used to paste these appeals around Sydney. Jack Andrews, Robert Beattie, Arthur Desmond and Joseph Schellenberg are others whose involvement in these nocturnal activities can so far be definitely established. Press notices provide the wording of some of the pamphlets:

1) "The following revolutionary document was distributed in the Sydney domain on Sunday last by somebody who evidently aspires to be an Australian Ravachol:-

> Men of Australia !!
>
> Why do we work and sweat and force ourselves into premature graves, that our masters may revel in blind luxury and pass their lives in idleness and splendour ? We toil, not for ourselves, but for them, and while our children grow into slaves and lackeys, their children get all the riches of the earth, riches that are produced by our labour.
>
> Fellow Workers Arise !!
>
> Let us throw off our vile apathy, hurl defiance at our robber landlords, and throw in our lot with those who are fighting for Justice! The cursed robbers that grind us down laugh at our woes and prostitute our daughters. They are heartless, and when cold want comes home to us, they help our starving families by throwing a little charity at them, even as they would at a mongrel - yea, look upon us as mongrels. They despise us, and would not save us from damnation if it touched their interest in the least.
>
> Agitate ! Organise ! Revolt !
>
> Justice demands it for the sake of your wives and children.
>
> Long live the Social Revolution ! "

2) "A Ravacholist, on paper, pasted on the Sydney wharves during the seamen's strike some manifestos to show Australian capitalists that

like causes are going to breed like effects either side of the Line.'

3) "Here is another blood and thunder circular with the red flag stuck glaringly in the centre, which has been distributed in Sydney. Lots of smoke may mean some fire:-

> "No. 2 Leaflet - Fellow workers: Again we urge you to rise from your apathy and fight hard for justice. Force, and force only, can strike fear into the hearts of our oppressors. Moral suasion and constitutional reform?
>
> - One is still-born, the other an abortion. Not the ballot box but the rifle and the -- alone can free us from our degrading slavery. Remember Broken Hill. Behold the force lawless law oppresses us with! Prepare for the Revolution! Seize arms - buy arms. But not afraid! Be men and organise ! Agitate ! Revolt !"

4)"The Queens' Statue, Chancery Square, Sydney is garnished with yellow placards running:

> "Anarchy is Liberty/Read 'News from Nowhere'".

I'm prepared to accept that these are the Lane-Petrie - etc. pamphlets. The question then becomes whether Petrie was prepared to practise what he preached. And if he was, and did, did he act alone or as part of a group? If part of a group, which group, and who were the other members of it?

Kenafick speculates that the strike years of the '90's brought out Petrie's excitability and produced a more violent attitude than he had in Melbourne? I'm inclined to the reverse of this idea, namely that the use of the strike was a sign that the moderates were already in the ascendancy, that the time had already passed when direct action could have been expected to produce significant change. For Andrews, Petrie was, in his Melbourne days, already an 'ardent revolutionist.' In Melbourne the Anarchist Club is the logical place to look for plots and conspiracies, but in David Andrade's hands it was always excessively open and moderate. (See biog.) Not that this rules out secret plots. It would appear in fact that the Club split over precisely this question, in the wake of the Haymarket affair. This is discussed elsewhere. At the moment I have no definite information to link Petrie with a 'gunpowder plot' before he reached Sydney.

In this context, the Knights of Labor is intriguing. Originally a secret industrial organisation of garment-cutters in the USA, its secret rituals and structure paralleled the Lodges which were spreading rapidly at the time. It may have been the conspiratorial nature of the K of L which appealed, or they may be a sign of the consciousness of the times.

In any event, I'm sure the following will bear closer scrutiny. The seal attached to the copy of 'Secret Work and Instructions' for the K of L held in the Mitchell Library has:

> a circle containing an outline of the Americas overprinted 'AK the 9th' and an equilateral triangle. Outside this is a 5 - sided figure shaped rather like a letter-box. Outside this is a circle inscribed 'Prytaneum North America, Jan 1st, 1878'. Around that is a 6 - sided figure, then a circle inscribed, "That is the most perfect government in which an injury to one is the concern of all", then come the points of a 5 - pointed star.

There are no references in the text to sabotage, violence or industrial action. (See also p. 136, 'Labor's Pioneering Days').

In the Sydney of the strike period conspiratorial groups were doubtless widespread. In one such group Petrie is listed along with Ernie Lane, Ralph Baynham, (described as a 'revolutionary anarchist') Sousa, and 'enthusiastic' Rose Summerfield. The fictionalised group Wm Lane describes in 'Workingman's Paradise' is probably based on this group but the characters are composites drawing on, as well as those already named, Henry Lawson, Mary Gilmore, refugees from the Paris Commune

and Mazzini's Italy, the Rose Soleys, Phil May, E. J. Brady and Lane himself.

The Active Service Brigade is the most likely group to have produced the above pamphlets but in its early days, 1892 say, it was not a very coherent group at all. Later, Lane appears not to have been associated and neither was Petrie. A further section will deal with the ASB in detail.

Mary Gilmore, first woman member of the AWU and a member of its Executive provided insights into her views on direct action when she told (National Times, May 6 - 11 1974) of an earlier unsuccessful attempt to blow up Circular Quay involving Petrie. No date is given, but it's probably 1892.

> "In the early movement there were those who advocated violence. I was against it, yet even the violent trusted me and so I was told by poor Larry Petrie that he had planted a bomb in the outfall vent on the right-hand side of Circular Quay to blow up the shipping and that part of the Quay. I told W.G. Spence. 'The fools', he exclaimed, 'they will have the Red Coats out on us'. It was arranged that I, J. C. Watson and Arthur Rae were to go to the Quay ..... My part was to walk along in front of the Customs House till opposite the spot, and then leave, so that I would not be implicated if arrests followed.
>
> When it came to dark the men met at the sewer, and Arthur being the small one, had to crawl in and get the bomb. When he came out with (it) and stood up, white-faced and shaking, he said, "I never knew before why God made me so small but I know now."

After telling Lane he was off to blow up a non-union ship, Petrie booked a passage on the S.S. 'Aramac'. On board at midnight on 27 July near the entrance to Moreton Bay there was a tremendous explosion in the forecabin. "The funny thing was" said Petrie some years later, "that the moment the bomb went off my first and **only** thought was to save people's lives." Fortunately there was no need to save anyone. A pillar of flame shot through the roof of the cabin and two women nearby were slightly injured. Petrie's presence on deck immediately afterwards, especially since the companionway was blocked with debris, aroused suspicion, his 'fake' name did also, and he was arrested as soon as the ship berthed and charged with attempted murder.

Some of the significance of this explosion can be seen from the uses to which it was put. The SMH editorialised on the 4/8/93 that:

> ".....The Aramac explosion makes the eighth trouble on board ship within almost as many days. The Burrumbeet and the Sydnev dynamite incidents.....then came an extra-ordinary accident between the Ellingamite and the Guilding Star, the latter vessel foundering.....Next the wreck.....of the steamer Hilda.....and the blow up of the barque Argo in Sydney Harbour are occurences the origin of which continue to be regarded by many persons with grave misgivings; and latterly the sinking of the steamer Franklin at Townsville, and the accident to the Corea. Such a Chapter of maritime disasters is probably unparalleled in Australian shipping history within the same short period."

Attempting to set the scene, a week earlier the same paper had said;

> ".....In some circles it (the Aramac explosion) is held to be the death-knell of unionism in the colonies." (p. 5, 31/7/93).

Petrie was well-known to both Henry Lawson and Mary Gilmore was probably a good friend but his 'case' was additionally important to them.

Dame Mary tells of writing a poem about an incident in Petrie's bush career while he was in jail, on suspicion of blowing up the 'Aramac'. This poem begins "The crows

kep' fly in' up, boys!" and is the poem, according to the authoress (Adelaide Register, August 30, 1924) that Lawson was so affected by that he came to her house in City Road, " with a trembling lip". In his hand, he held the cutting he had torn from "The Worker", 9 sept., 1893). "You have beaten me on my own ground.....there isn't room for both of us. One of use must give up ..... " Although Lawson wished to give up for her, after a protracted argument, complicated by their emotional regard for each other, she finally convinced him that she would give up the style and content for him, but she also prevailed on him at this time to "cease writing revolution. and write Australia". Whatever else may be said about the reminiscence, Dame Mary had the wrong ship (she says "The Warrego") and the wrong year (1890). Professor Roderick in his "The Formative Years of Henry Lawson", where he says Lawson met Petrie at Leigh House, repeats the above story, but elsewhere in the same article refers to the boat as the 'Aramac' and provides the correct date of July 1893. Sylvia Lawson repeats the story in her biography of Mary Gilmore and provides many of the words.

Lawson, for his part, quotes the poem as 'an (anonymous) old bush song' in 'The Hero of Dingo Scrubs' the plot of which bears marked resemblance to that of the poem.

The Government Analyst's report said that he examined tin and hair found at the scene (of the Aramac explosion) and 'found a soapy looking substance which proved to be gelatine dynamite. A second parcel showed traces of tar as of a fuse. Gelatine dynamite consisted of gun cotton and nitro-glycerine, also nitrate of potash and wood meal.

> According to the Bulletin of 2/9/1893, p. 8 (with Petrie's photo) "So far, the suspicions against the accused seem chiefly to rest on some wild , bilious remarks he made months ago in Sydney against 'double breasted parasites' and an expressed yearning for explosives, in order 'to make an example of some of the plutocrats'."
>
> Arthur Rae, Ernie Lane and others raised money for his defence and engaged as solicitor Marshall Lyle, who if not a committed member (Ernie says he was a member) had certainly attended Anarchist Club meetings in Melbourne, probably was Andrews' contact with the Criminological Society and was known for his progressive views. He also wrote that he thought Petrie wouldn't hurt a fly. At the police court hearing Petrie claimed he was in his bunk at the time of the explosion. He was committed for trial.

"All the prosecution needed was evidence of where Petrie had obtained the explosives," according to J.D. ....."All the detectives seemed to be able to do was to go around the Sydney explosives stores and ask who had bought dynamite. As if a real anarchist would buy dynamite while Government blasting operations were in progress in half a dozen Sydney suburbs, and the storeman in charge o'nights could be enticed to an adjacent corner hostelry for a much needed drink." Despite constant postponements, apparently the best the government could come up with was a man called Fitzpatrick who was prepared to swear Petrie had offered him bribes for dynamite. Arthur Rae got wind of this, was able to show the Attorney-General that Fitzpatrick must be lying, threatened a public exposure of police mal-practice, so the Attorney-General filed a No-True Bill and Petrie was discharged.

Whilst in jail Larry told those in charge that if the Premier of Queensland would come to see him he, Larry, would tell him who was responsible for the blowing up of the Aramac. The Premier was told and he visited the gaol and interviewed Larry who told him that it was he (the Premier) and his colleagues in the Queensland Parliament who were responsible. By their attitude towards the working classes and their tyranny generally they drove men to anarchy, etc.

The Brisbane Worker editorialised that the evidence available in the Aramac explo-

sion pointed 'to a put up job'. It then went on to quote Petrie, as interviewed on his release:

> "I know absolutely nothing of the cause of the explosion.....I was astonished to hear that a tin cannister was found in my trunk. I had at no time either in my trunk or luggage anything of the kind, or any explosive. Had I such a thing I would not be at liberty today.....
>
> "Fitzpatrick I know.....He was recommended to me by Mr. T. Houghton, MLA, as a useful man to whom I might give credit books for the purpose of enrolling men in the GLU.....Fitzpatrick appeared glad to take the books, and enrolled several members. I cannot think what possessed him to fabricate such a story.....unless it (was a large reward).
>
> "My one arm should show them that I couldn't carry about heavy explosives without being detected by some person....."
>
> "I consider myself badly treated by authorities....." not by gaol warders he said, but by prison officials who tried fear, bribery (250 pounds and a free pardon) to get evidence implicating someone. He was in solitary for 4 weeks, fed only on bread and water, and when he complained he was put in with a 'forger' who urged him to accept the bribe, (Petrie thought him a detective) and allowed other food if he paid for it. He complained again, he was moved to another gaol and his treatment improved. All told he was in prison 10 weeks and Andrews says his health was damaged as a result.
>
> The Article concludes with a letter from Marshall Lyle (Melbourne, Aug. 15, 1893). It says in part, after declaring belief in Petrie's innocence,. "Your work among the outcasts and the poor in Melbourne was well-known to me, and indeed to all interested in philanthropic work.....anything I can do for you I gladly will....."
>
> It is significant that ASB leaflets begin appearing in Brisbane upon Petrie's release. They are reported in New Zealand and in the Brisbane 'Worker' of November 25, 1893, which reprints a pamphlet from the Brisbane 'Courier':-
>
> "Bushmen, mates, whose joyless lives excite the sympathy of all true men, let me address you. The squatter kings, callous and brutal, intend to try to reduce your wages from the beginning of 1894 .....(moral suasion a fraud - continues).....you must strike - and with a 'little devil' make it uncomfortable for the squatter or his manager to live in the bush.....How are you to do it? You know how. One man can do the work if he likes. It is not necessary to have a million. But do not take too many into your confidence..... Finally, avoid injuring innocent people.....
>
> By Order, Active Service Brigade, Queensland, 9th November, 1893."

The 'Worker' comments, that this suggestion is no surprise since the squatters' methods of blacklisting, victimising and the unjust reference system have intimidated men from combining openly and there is nothing left for some men but secret organisation.....The 'Worker' advises the 'Courier' and others to discourage grinding of poor, etc, in order to discourage Ravachol - type people from appearing.

Andrews later provided, in Petrie's defence, some further background:

> "As told in the 'Tocsin' about a year ago, there had been for some months a capitalistic move to create a dynamite scare for financial reasons, and certain agitators had received warning, confidentially, that they would be the ones upon whom the guilt of what was to be done would be thrown when "it would not be Chicago, this time, but Sydney". It was ascertained that Petrie was one of these probable victims and he was implored to be cautious, lest he should be led into some compromising action,

for which he was hot-headed and bold enough, but he laughed at the forebodings. (The methods of the enemy were two; they worked by pimps, and by fizgigs or agent provocateurs.
A pimp creates actual circumstantial evidence of a kind that will appear to corroborate a false accusation intended to be made. Thus, the Frenchman, a detective's employee who endeavoured on the pretence that he had made an invention which he wanted to place on the market, but did not know the English names of the chemicals, to get from me a recipe for an explosive in my handwriting was a pimp; whilst he who seeks to induce or inspire someone to really do something, with a view to arresting him for it, is a fizgig, or, if the object is less the arrest of the person doing the deed than to create a pretext for general repressive measures, an agent provocateur). About 7 months later came this Aramac case."

Andrews then describes Petrie's defence and goes on "and as 3 or 4 people made precisely similar overtures to members of the ASB, Petrie's version bears the hallmark of exact truth....."

"The last time I saw him was just prior to the Royal Tar's (second) departure." Andrews was just out of gaol after 3 months' sentence for not having the 'correct' information on his 'Handbook of Anarchy', and Petrie said to him as parting words, "You see, it's better to be prosecuted for something." This could be taken to mean he did blow up the Aramac but Jack Andrews sees it otherwise....."as meaning that a serious charge cannot be so readily dealt with in a prejudiced manner, without fair trial, or made the means of a prosecuting conviction as a trivial and technical one. He made no statement whatever as to what had occurred on the Aramac.. ...it could have been him, perhaps provoked by agent provocateurs or perhaps he didn't want to remove suspicion from himself because that would have meant someone else." Andrews' strenuous attempts to disassociate Petrie from the explosion are very interesting, as, if there is any substance to the police reports of secret organisational documents speaking of murder, etc. (see his biography) he is the person most centrally involved. In the 'Tocsin' of June 27, 1901, to J.D., he says,

"We could name (the agent provocateurs) if it would do any good; suffice it however to say that Desmond showed that some sixty thousand pounds of secret service money had been already expended in Sydney some time before the Aramac affair. As to the latter we know positively of half-a-dozen or so attempts to egg various other people on to use dynamite, three attempts to manufacture false charges of using it by means of artfully contrived misleading appearances, and one case of a wilfully false accusation being laid for the purpose of getting rewarded with a Government billet, whilst a couple of petty explosions that occurred on shipboard were attributed by public opinion to the shipowners themselves. Petrie may have had something to do with the Aramac explosion, but if so the primary moral responsibility was elsewhere and there are serious reasons for believing that his physical responsibility was, at any rate, much less than you suppose."

J.D. had also contended that Petrie naturally lost many friends by his supposed connection with the outrage but this seems doubtful. It's clear from constant references in the labor press that he was a well-known and respected figure and that this regard preceded him to North America. Macarthur of the Coast Seamen's Journal, San Francisco, in his 'American Letter' for the Australian Workman, September 22, 1894 says "Larry Petrie not yet arrived, when he does I will do all I can for him." Judging from his letters Petrie was good friends with Mrs Cameron, Mary Gilmore's mother and in one letter he implies that she gave him a fortune-telling before he left Sydney. Souter recalls him singing 'con brio' in the McNaught's parlour at Hunter's Hill (Sydney) the song "The Men of the New Australia" written in 1893 by Mary Cameron (Gilmore) and A.E. Mason-Beatty. Petrie says he received a warm invitation from Cosme to join them when on his way there and there is no reason

to dispute he received just that. He clearly retained Spence's affection and that of Sam Smith, Seamen's Union official.

According to J.D. he reckoned on losing friends....."If the ship had gone down, so would I; then my friends could only have shown their disapproval by refusing to wear mourning. I daresay my wraith would not have wept therefore."

J. D. appears to have the final say on the Aramac explosion, however. "He long afterwards calmly told (the writer).....that he expected the vessel to become a total wreck, but that the bomb (if it was a bomb) had partially failed because of the absence of weight on its top side....."

Petrie came out of gaol approximately 11 October, 1893. Andrews again, "After this Petrie came to Melbourne where he had hard times with poverty and ill-health. He wandered about for a while and eventually made arrangements to join New Australia.

New Australia - An Anarchist Utopia ?

That 3 of the above Press reports of 'Anarchist' handbills appear in the Brisbane 'Worker' is just one of the links of this philosophy to William Lane. He had by mid-1892 resigned as editor to co-ordinate 'New Australia' but was still contributing items. "Working Man's Paradise", published early in 1892, shows Lane's belief that anarchism is the noblest social philosophy of all, and through the novel's philosopher, Geisner, he relates his belief that society may have to go through a period of State Socialism to achieve the higher ideal of Communist Anarchism. Geisner is a refugee from the Paris Commune (Lloyd Ross says the father of one of Lane's friends was such a refugee - Kenafick chapter 9, p. xxvii). He has the following conversation with the hero Ned (partly based on Lawson, according to Kenafick) beginning by telling Ned 'Where The Evil Lies' and contrasting State Socialism to 'anarchical communism' based upon 'voluntarism and opposed to force whether of governments or otherwise'.

Ned: "Then Anarchists aren't wicked men?"

Geisner: "The Anarchist ideal is the highest and noblest of all human ideals. I cannot conceive of a good man who does not recognise that when he once understands it. The Anarchical Communists simply seek that men should live in peace and concord, of their own better nature, without being forced, doing harm to no one, and being harmed by noone. Of course the blind revolt against oppressive and unjust laws and tyrannical governments has become associated with Anarchy, but those who abuse it simply don't know what they do. Anarchical Communism, that is, men working as mates and sharing with one another of their own free will is the highest conceivable form of Socialism in industry."

Ned: "Are you an Anarchist?"

Geisner: "No. I recognise their ideal, understand that it is the only natural condition for a community of general intelligence and fair moral health, and look to the time when it will be instituted. I freely admit it is the only form of Socialism possible among the Socialists.

But the world is full of mentally and morally and socially diseased people who, I believe, must go through the school of State Socialism before, as a great mass, they are true Socialists, and fit for voluntary Socialism."

It is interesting to note that Mary Gilmore (used to model the heroine Nelly) wrote to Kenafick saying that 'the whole book is true and of historical value as Lane transcribed our conversations as well as those of others'. It is also interesting to note that Kenafick's equation of ultimate Socialism with Communist-Anarchism parallels that of Lane though Kenafick says Lane's knowledge of Marx is minimal

and probably hadn't penetrated. Kenafick of course is the author of 'Marx and Bakhunin' and was very widely read in Socialist literature, in French as well as English. Just before Lane resigned the editorship to co-ordinate 'New Australia', the Brisbane 'Worker' began to publish 'The Communist Manifesto'.

It is reasonable to speculate that Lane had an anarchist utopia in mind when thinking of and planning 'New Australia'. Note that Petrie, Robert Beattie (see biog.), the two Lanes, Mary Gilmore and Rose Summerfield all went to New Australia. (Henry Lawson wanted to go, but as with Ernie Lane in 1893, had no money for the fare, and thought of stowing away.) A number of writers on New Australia have referred to the major ideological conflict in the settlement as being between a group they call anarchists and others.

Because of anarchists' anti-State view, the Paraguayan settlement is also important as showing the appearance of disillusion among certain more aware activists about the efficacy of the parliamentary road to social justice. Just as the labour movement and attempts to have labour representatives in the legislatures are part of a world wide phenomenon, the disillusion is also expressed at the same time in Australia as elsewhere. In Australia, just as the 'Royal Tar' leaves for Paraguay, David Andrade leaves Melbourne for the Dandenongs to effect his communal utopianism (approximately 85 other groups in Victoria alone) while numerous other settlements are attempted around Australia including a remnant of the Barcaldine shearers' camp which is settled near the Alice River. Significantly, Lawson goes to New Zealand and Jack Andrews tries the hermit life on Bombira Hill.

Not all the disillusioned thought as Petrie did. In the same issue of the 'Worker' that carries Petrie's donation of a ring for a raffle, Gilbert Casey, later to lead a secession from the New Australia settlement, blasts the proponents of physical force:-

> "Physical force, bah! It is the greatest jobbery, the most stupendous tommyrot imaginable. The men who talk revolution are in many cases the cowards who dare not call their should their own.....if they have not the heart to do that which is near them and easy, is it likely that they will be courageous enough to do that which is hard....."

Whether this difference of opinion has any significance for events in South America is again speculation. Petrie describes Casey as having 'become quite an anarchist' in a letter to Spence 4/8/99. (Develop kind of anarchy?) In any event no glory accrues to anarchism even should 'New Australia' be validly claimed as an anarchist colony; the colony failed, Lane capitulated and hardly practised anarchist theory in any case. (Arg?)

Petrie travelled to Honolulu on the 'Royal Tar's ' charter voyage (carrying coal) in 1894 and arrived in time to join (unsuccessfully) in a revolution, but escaped arrest and worked his way to San Francisco. Sam Smith, Secretary of the Seamen's Union had given him letters of introduction and these helped him to some extent, in both San Francisco and New York, but his own spirit was what counted. Riding the rattler, 'packed in among the merchandise on freight trucks and hairbreadth escapes from heavily booted and irate railway conductors were just some of the hazards of travel on the North American continent of the time. In a letter enclosing Petrie's to Spence because Larry had no money for a stamp to Australia, Macarthur said Petrie stayed some months in San Francisco.....

> "working hard at odd jobs (including selling shoe laces in the street - J. D.). He made a good impression upon the trade unionists in this locality as a man of courage and sincerity.
>
> .....Since he left San Francisco he has tramped across the country, footsore, cold and hungry, a great part of the time, to say nothing of the indignities of tramp ordinances in some places. He has had a terrible time of it that only a man of his indomitable grit could have withstood."

In New Orleans he was befriended by a church sexton and his family, and in New

York after being hassled by non-unionists and the authorities and appealing to Spence for help, he obtained a berth on a ship going south.

In September, 1896, he was able to write to Spence from Cosme;

> "Communism is alright (extend).....I do not mean to say that we are perfect but I do say that I have not felt mad with anyone except myself since my arrival."

He rapidly became part of the work and social activities, e.g., he lectured to the Literary and Social Union on Fiji and Hawaii.

Mary Gilmore at this time was equally optimistic about the settlement but for her, Petrie, Rose Summerfield and many others, the charm didn't last. Fittingly, the point of contention was authority. Letters from many of the participants clearly show that the people disillusioned with William Lane expected a more democratic form of decision-making, in other words libertarian-communism.

When New Australia divided, ostensibly over the expulsion of Sims and Pinder(?) for drinking in 189, Petrie sided with the Gilbert Casey (?) group. He kept on good terms with some Cosme people, often being mentioned in Cosme News. He wrote letters to Australian friends which are among the most telling criticisms of the experiment:

> "Whiffs of dogma, stacks of selfishness, yards of words, and absolutely no liberty" was how he described Cosme in 1898. "Therefore as my ideas and the ways of Cosme did not harmonise I got." His opinion of Lane was even worse. "He is a madman" wrote Petrie to W.G. Spence, "a knave seized with the madness of ambition, overpowered with a sense of the divinity of himself and his mission, and for that he will barter truth, justice and the whole world plus the handful of bigots he terms the faithful. I believe everybody can perceive how shamefully he betrays his friends, cheerfully leaving them to bear a burden of reproach which he at least should share." Although "all the cream of the movement" had gone, he felt confident after a few months there that 'time and a gradual increase of population will find us nearer our old ideals than all the law and compelled communism of Cosme will ever achieve."

J. D. concluded his reminiscences this way:

> "Two years' communism was more than enough for the restless firebrand, and he went out into the world again. He got a situation as railway watchman at Villa Rica, and expected to shortly have enough money saved to take unto himself 'with my one remaining arm,' a soft-eyed Paraguayan wife. 'I am now, 'he wrote quite recently, 'Senor Lorenzo de Petrie, and am almost persuaded to become an individualist. But I guess I'll be a one-winged angel first.' He probably guessed correctly."

One day in March, 1901, he jumped onto the line to push a child out of the path of an on-coming train and was killed himself. His body was claimed by Mrs. Rose Cadogan (Summerfield).

THE IWW IN AUSTRALIA

Mark McGuire

The major theme in the history of the I.W.W. in Australia was its ability, through working within established trade unions, to influence a significant section of them in a syndicalist direction and the possibility, had it survived initial state repression, that it would have gone on to syndicalize the organized working class movement in Australia. In arguing this thesis I will firstly define anarco syndicalism then I will sketch out the nature of the world anarco syndicalist movement through outlining basic underlying convergencies and divergences within it. Finally, I will move onto an analysis of the Australian I.W.W.

I define anarco syndicalism as the application of anarchist ideas of revolutionary organization to working class organizations ie. trade unions and community associations. These ideas are federalism and limited tenure of office. Federalism, meaning that the rank and file control the organization, as each member is autonomous and therefore can participate directly in all decisions made by it. On the local level, eg. the shop floor, these decisions are made by assemblies of the membership and by conferences of strictly mandated delegates when involving levels higher than the local i.e. provincial and national. Decisions are implemented by administrative committees. Their membership has a strictly limited (1) tenure of office, their functions are strictly defined and they are not paid, this enables administrative skills ie. secretarial, accounting etc. to be defused amongst the membership and prevents an elite which, due to its monopoly of skills, would be able to centralize power into its hands. The net effect of this way of organizing is to invest the rank and file with control over the direction of the day-to-day struggle and the power to initiate direct action. And hence through this mode of struggle, a revolutionary and anarchist consciousness will be developed amongst the rank and file. The achieving of limited gains eg. increased wages by their own power will facilitate in the rank and file the consciousness of the possibility of achieving greater gains ie. workers control of production and an anarchist society.

I will now look at the nature of the world anarco syndicalist movement. It consisted of both unions and propaganda groups. It also involved significant sections of the organised workers movement in both the industrialized and non-industrialized world. The epoch, in which it gained greatest international success was the period between the world depression and increased working class militancy of the 1890's and the period of world repression commencing at the beginning of W.W.I. The major convergence within the movement consisted of the member unions sharing anarco syndicalist. as defined, aims and structures and a commitment to building unions based on industry rather than craft. This is shown by the adoption of approximations of the C.G.T.'s (the General Confederation of Trade Unions, the French anarco syndicalist union set up in 1895 with a peak membership of 600,000) constitution and preamble, by the other member unions of the movement.

Divergencies in the movement existed over the strategy to be used to build the workers movement on syndicalist lines. They were whether to work within existing reformist unions and convert them to syndicalism or to set up an alternative syndicalist union structure. Major proponents of these opposing strategies were the syndicalists within the French C.G.T., and the syndicalists within the U.S. I.W.W., set up in 1905 with a peak membership of 350,000. The French syndicalists had created the C.G.T. through the syndicalization of unions such as the construction workers, the N.E. metal workers and the affiliation of still reformist unions. In

contrast, the U.S. I.W.W. was a dual union, a union set up in opposition to the established union structure (2). Its leadership believed that established unions, usually craft unions, could not be syndicalized and favoured that its members only hold I.W.W. membership cards. The other major differences within the movement were the reasons why workers joined its various member organizations and kinds of direct action to achieve the revolution. In relationship to the former difference, members joined the C.G.T. and the I.W.W. mainly for economic reasons, rather than explicit revolutionary commitment, which was the case with the membership of the F.A.I., the Iberian Anarchist Federation, and the Industrial Syndicalist Education League in the U.K. Both organizations being major anarco syndicalist propaganda groups, in their respective countries(3). In relationship to the latter difference, the kind of direct action to win the revolution, the I.W.W., C.G.T. and U.S.I. (Unione Syndicale Italiano) saw the means as the general strike, whilst the C.N.T. (the National Confederation of Labour, the Spanish anarco syndicalist union) saw it as the insurrection and to a lesser extent the general strike (4).

The Australian I.W.W. was a national member of the movement I have just discussed. It was founded as a union in Adelaide in 1911, where its continental administration was also set up later that year, and which was later transferred to Sydney. The setting up of the union was the result of propaganda work by I.W.W. clubs set up since 1907 (5). These clubs were also a major determinant of the major theme in the Australian I.W.W.'s history ie. its adoption of the working from within established unions strategy to syndicalize the organized workers' movement and hence that members could carry both established union and I.W.W. cards and its achievements due to this policy. This approach was in contradiction to the U.S. I.W.W.'s dual unionism position. The above situation stemmed from the success of I.W.W. club members in terms

10 A 'Wobbly' picnic.

of spreading syndicalist ideas within established unions. Some achievements of these clubs had been the Northern District Miners Federation of N.S.W. in August 1907 adopting the I.W.W. preamble and constitution and in 1908 a trade union congress in Sydney debating whether to adopt the I.W.W. constitution and preamble. Also contributing to the Australian I.W.W.'s adoption of the "boring from within strategy" was its lack of success in building the I.W.W. into a syndicalist union centre embracing large sections of the Australian working class. This failure was indicated by its small peak financial membership of only 11,000, that it had only one or two locals at any one time in any one industry, and that it had only created rudimentary structures of its dual union centre(6).

This relative failure of the I.W.W. due to the highly organized nature of the working class is in contrast to its relative success in terms of defusing syndicalist ideas within the organized labour movement. This success was facilitated by the growth in the number of I.W.W. locals and its establishment as a national organization, as by 1916 the I.W.W. had locals in all states of Australia, and key mining and industrial areas, and hence a base network from which to launch propaganda operations. The I.W.W.'s achievement was also contributed to by the existence of a militant working class media, its core being "Direct Action" the I.W.W.'s official organ, which had average weekly sales of 15,000, and a probable circulation of 45 - 50,000, its periphery being such papers as the militantly anticapitalist, though racist "Bulletin". Such a media would act as a counter to bourgeois idealogy, spread the syndicalist ideas or create a climate in which they could be accepted and act as a rallying point in times during which syndicalist influenced working class struggles took place.

The character of this success consisted of the conversion of the trade union movement to anti conscription during W.W.I., the facilitation of amalgamations, and the diffusion of anti bureaucratic, anti arbitration system and direct action, especially general strike practices amongst unions. In relationship to the I.W.W.'s anti conscription activities we see that they caused the A.W.U. convention and the N.S.W. and Vic. A.L.P. conferences to oppose conscription and the organized workers' movement in general. As well the I.W.W. was admitted to representation on the special trade union congress called to devise means to oppose conscription (7). Overall their decisions prevented the conscription referendum from being passed. This achievement was of enormous significance as it made Australia the only country in the world to oppose conscription for W.W. 1. In relationship to the I.W.W.'s contribution to the amalgamation of unions on industrial lines, the I.W.W. influenced greatly the amalgamation of the N.S.W. Coal-miners Federation and the Victorian Coal-miner's organizations. As well, the I.W.W. was also the major influence behind the setting up of the Amalgamated Meat Industry Employees Union in Queensland, a union which showed many explicit syndicalist features. These included opposition to the arbitration system. This took the form of union enforced direct negotiation with employers by passing state wages boards established in 1910. Boards of control, analogous to shop committees, meetings of shop delegates, were the main initiators of policy. These boards also undermined the power of employers by being able to determine the pace of work, allocation of overtime and handled disputes that occurred. In relationship to the I.W.W. as a stimulant to direct action, it was the major influence behind A.M.I.E.U. direct action to protect itself from destruction by employers, who were incensed by its syndicalist features in 1918 (8). It influenced the Broken Hill miners, of whom many were wobblies, in their use of prolonged strike action to achieve their demands in 1916 and, as well, the I.W.W. provided the ideological climate for the 1917 general strike in N.S.W. in support of the strike of railways and tramways maintenance men to take place and in general the I.W.W. was the major catalyst for most direct action by unions from 1907 to the end of W.W.I.

This wave of I.W.W. influence was abruptly concluded due to state repression and to some extent the Russian Revolution . The ferocity of the repression is an indication of the importance of the I.W.W. achievement and the terror it caused the

ruling class. It took the form of frame-ups, i.e. the Sydney 12 trial, wobblies were charged with a conspiracy to burn down Sydney, and the Unlawful Associations Act of 1916, which made membership fo the I.W.W. an offence punishable by six months in prison (9). These measures and the Russian Revolution, which lead to a reorientation of the radical workers' movement on anti-syndicalist lines, i.e. leninist, neutralized the relatively small number of conscious anarco-syndicalist cadres (there were probably only a hundred or so), and thereby broke the syndicalist tide. This failure indicates the need of the I.W.W. to have more time to establish stronger roots amongst the working class and a more organized and more numerous anarco-syndicalist core. And the need to reorientate the I.W.W. organizationally from a union to a propaganda group. Given these changes, the syndicalist movement in Australia could have withstood state repression as the syndicalists in Spain have done on many occasions and could have gone on to syndicalize the organized workers movement in Australia.

In conclusion, we see that the Australian I.W.W. achieved significant successes in terms of spreading syndicalist ideas amongst the organized workers movement. And given more time to establish its base in the working class and possible rearrangements, it could have gone on to be successful in terms of achieving its historic project, the syndicalization of the working class and eventual revolution.

NOTES

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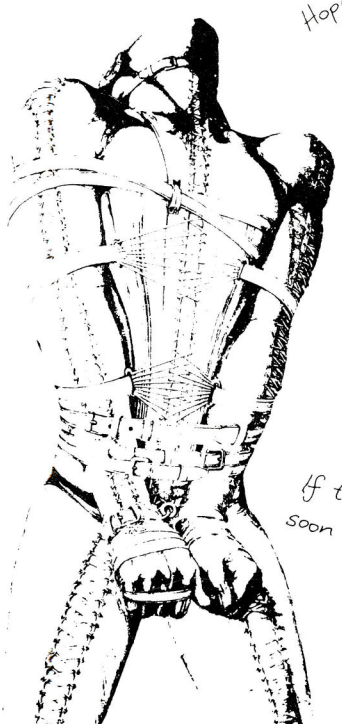

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